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# East Europe Report

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29 SEPTEMBER 1986

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COOPERATION WITH ZIMBABWE REVIEWED

AU021320 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 86 p 6

[Pavel Kryl article: "Czechoslovakia Has a Good Name in Zimbabwe; the Kingdom of tobacco"]

[Excerpts] Apart from revolutionary changes inside the country, Zimbabwe's independence also meant the development of political and economic relations with the socialist countries. Frequently one had to overcome prejudices on the part of white entrepreneurs, prejudices spread not so long ago by primitive racist propaganda. Now many of them are travelling to the CSSR, GDR, and the Soviet Union for commercial purposes; they can judge from their own experience what is truth, and what are lies.

One of the firms which established trade contacts with Czechoslovakia's is the Inter-Continental Leaf Tobacco (ILT), which exports outstanding Zimbabwean tobacco. This year this firm will deliver 900 tons of tobacco to us, that is 15 percent of all its deliveries to other countries. The firm's headquarters are in downtown Harare, on Forbes Avenue.

ILT's trade relations with the Czechoslovak partners are far more varied than is apparent at the first glance. The firm does not merely sell tobacco, which we simply buy. In fact, everything is carried out within the framework of a cashless transfer. This means that we export our products to Zimbabwe according to the amount of imported tobacco. It is gratifying that the share of engineering products in the total volume of goods delivered to Zimbabwe amounts to 64 percent. We are exporting bearings, measuring apparatus, spare parts for automobiles and bicycles, machine tools, high-lift trucks, synthetic rubber, glass, hunting ammunition, and so forth.

Our textile machinery -- so far we have exported 50 machines -- has proved its excellent worth. The customer's only problem is delivery of material, since our machines have raised his productivity 300 percent. At the same time, during the last 3 years all the goods have arrived from the CSSR with the required quality and within the agreed dealines.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MINISTER ON RESULTS, PROBLEMS OF ENERGY SECTOR

AU251046 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 86 p 2

["pp"-signed Prague dispatch: "Miners' and Power Industry Workers' Results"]

[Text] [Prague] At a press conference held in Prague on Thursday [21 August], Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR minister of fuel and power, briefed journalists on the results of the fuel and power sector last year.

In his speech, he voiced appreciation for the work of miners in the coal basins, which -- with the exception of the Prievidza Coal and Lignite Mines -- are all fulfilling and exceeding the plan. However, he drew attention to the fact that in the subsequent years it will no longer be possible to maintain coal production at the current high level (in the first half of the year, coal production exceeded 63 million metric tons). Although the adverse development of mining costs is inevitable, in view of the progressively more complicated mining conditions, we must not become reconciled to the fact that at some places it costs us Kcs6 to remove a cubic meter of overburden while at other places it costs Kcs16 or even more.

The successful development of nuclear power generation has assisted greatly in the regular supplies of electricity to the national economy and the population. Great attention is being devoted to nuclear safety. However, current delays at the general overhauls of coal-burning power stations threaten to result in losses of hundreds of millions of korunas before the onset of winter because their production may have to be substituted by electricity production from natural gas. Although underground reservoirs contain almost 1.8 billion cubic meters of natural gas, which is more than at the same time last year, in the event of severe frost it will be necessary to regulate supplies of natural gas to large consumers.

The fuel and power sector is the largest consumer of investment resources. That is why it is essential to continuously markedly improve the efficiency of capital investment and to insist on the attainment of projected parameters. Miners are also striving to meet the growing demand for graded coal. This year they want to deliver to the market 900,000 metric tons in excess of the plan. However, large consumers must also contribute their share to satisfying demand for graded coal by substituting for it fuel of lower quality.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLUSOVICE FARM CRITICIZED FOR 'PROFIT-SEEKING'

AU031438 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 34 27 Aug 86 pp 16, 17

[Article by Vlastimil Svoboda: "Who Is Bound by Government Resolutions?"]

[Excerpts] The Agrokomplex Slusovice united agricultural cooperative [famous in Czechoslovakia for its super-efficiency, intensive ties with Western firms, unorthodox management methods, and its many successful sideline activities, including production of farm machinery, computers, and insecticides, a department store, and highly successful racing stables, automobile racing club, and soccer club] has decided to include in the broad range of its activities the retreading of truck and rear tractor tires. It is planning to build a factory that would recap 80,000 truck tires and 20,000 tractor tires annually and is also studying the possibilities of retreading passenger car tires. This is production involving great profit and practically no responsibility vis-a-vis the national economy. According to the set division of labor, tire-retreading is the business of enterprises of the local economy run by the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic.

On the other hand, engineer Jiri Draxler, candidate of sciences, general director of Czech Rubber and Plastic Plants economic production unit in Bottwaldov, claims that together with the Slusovice farm he is seeking the fastest way of eliminating the critical shortage of tires.

His arguments, arguments that led to the above decision, are really plausible. Production does not meet demand for new tires at present. In the future, too, it will not grow fast enough to fully meet the needs of road transport. The only available source is the recycling of worn-out tires. However, three out of four of these tires remain in the garages of passenger car owners. A modification of the rules of their procurement could raise the recycling rate by at least 25 percent. However, right now local industry does not have the capacity to cope with such an increase. There are also problems with the declining standard of the retreading plants' technological equipment, which is also reflected in the quality of recapped tires.

The new multi-million retreading plant of the Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, built with the technical assistance of the Czech Rubber and Plastics Plants, would naturally not suffer from such difficulties. On top of that, it is the only organization in the republic to which the economic production unit has promised supplies of top-quality retreading mixtures and preferential supplies of worn-off truck tires. From this viewpoint it would thus be possible to evaluate the agreement between the Czech Rubber and Plastics Plants economic production unit and the Slusovice united agricultural cooperative as an example of socialist enterprise. But...

There are two sides to each coin. In this particular instance the second side is Resolution No. 18 of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic of 21 January 1986 regarding the "Report of the State of Ensuring the Needs of the National Economy for Retreaded Motor Vehicle Tires in 1986, With an Outlook Up to the Year 1990." This resolution tackles the situation strictly in line with the principles stipulated in the "Main Guidelines of the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR in 1986-90, With an Outlook Up to the Year 2000," that is, primarily by way of the modernization and reconstruction of existing facilities.

Retreading plants in the entire Czech Socialist Republic have always covered the needs of the national economy, various obstacles notwithstanding. This provides a guarantee that they will approach the above government resolution in a responsible manner.

Which of the two different solutions outlined here is more effective and who is better qualified to ensure the retreading of tires? The Agrokomplex Slusovice united agricultural cooperative, whose collective has repeatedly furnished evidence that it is capable of resolving even the most intricate problems in a short time (and for which, moreover, the Czech Rubber and Plastics Plants would create exceptional production and technical conditions)? Or enterprises of the local economy, which have 40 years of retreading experience? Their facilities are evenly distributed throughout the republic, which forestalls unnecessary increases in transportation costs, and they also have all other conditions to provide good quality services for citizens and socialist organizations. The answer is unambiguous: You can only retread as many tires as you purchase from socialist organizations and citizens. The present capacity of the enterprises of local industry is fully adequate to cope with the amount of purchased tires. Construction of a new plant, which is not provided for by the plan, would upset this equilibrium and a situation could arise whereby some existing facilities would stop receiving worn-off tires from the Barum organization [responsible for the procurement of worn-off tires], would have to discontinue the retreading business, and whereby their capacities would remain unused. There is thus no need for new capacities, it is only necessary to modernize the existing ones. Viewed from this angle, /the decision of the Agrokomplex Slusovice united agricultural cooperative and the general management of the Czech Rubber and Plastics Plants in Gottwaldov gives clear priority to branch interests. Yet preference must be given to safeguarding national needs -- in other words, to the implementation of the government resolution, which was adopted after a thorough analysis of all possibilities and needs of our economy./ [passage between slantlines published in boldface]

The Czech Rubber and Plastics Plants should reorient their initiative and cooperate with local industry. It is a fact that it is within their power, by rendering purposeful assistance to the development of retreading, to contribute far more distinctly to the elimination of the shortage of tires than has been the case up to now.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR GRAIN HARVEST SMALLEST IN 10 YEARS

AU271300 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Engineer Frantisek Vrkoc, Doctor of Sciences, of the Plant Production Research Institute in Prague-Ruzyne: "Research Expert's Word on This Year's Grain Crops' Yields"]

[Excerpt] The results of the grain harvest to date intimate that weather, especially in the second half of the season, had an unfavorable influence on yields, above all in the low-lying areas. Therefore the yields are lower and in some places also smaller than estimated as late as July.

The preliminary assessment of the yields to date from accurate field experiments carried out by our institute and the experimental stations of the Plant Production Research Institute in Bohemia and in Moravia at small-size plots indicates that, compared with last year, the reduced yields in most varieties of winter wheat are proportionate at these experimental lots employing meticulous agrotechnology to those in the surrounding practice [Okolní praxe]. Reduced yields fluctuate roughly between 10 percent (in higher-lying areas) and 30 percent (in low-lying areas). Thus, this means that the reduction of yields is almost totally the reflection of the course of the weather situation, which negatively affected the yields of our chief cereal -- winter wheat. Thus, compared with the state of affairs in the past 10 years, a situation has occurred in which the majority of our regions did not achieve optimal values in any of the three yield components -- the number of ears of grain per area, the number of grains in an ear, and in the weight of 1,000 grains.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### GDR UNABLE TO SUPPLY SPARES FOR HARVESTERS

AU241236 [Editorial Report] Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on 23 July on page 3, in its "Talk on a Current Topic" column, carries a 1,300-word interview given by Karol Bohacek, deputy director of the Agroet Trade organization in Zvolen, to Kamil Urbanik, entitled "combine harvesters..and how to cure them." The interview deals with the lack of spare parts for combine harvesters from the "fortschritt" agricultural machinery combine in the GDR.

In his opening question, Urbanik reminds Bohacek of a press conference in Bratislava in May where "we heard from a representative of your organization optimistic forecasts and promises concerning supplies of spare parts for grain combines." Bohacek replies: "Regrettably, our predictions have only partially been fulfilled. Only a few days before the press conference, at the spring fair in Leipzig, we had reached an agreement with our foreign partner, in which he definitely 'confirmed' our original orders. Nonetheless, at the beginning of this month we had a list of more than 100 items for combines of the 'e'-line that are not available. Of course, we are not standing about with our arms folded, even though the question quite naturally comes to mind about the actual benefit not only for primary agricultural production but also for our organization of extraordinary steps and measures taken at the last moment."

Confronted with Urbanik's objection that problems with spare parts for combines of the 'e'-line are not new but "have a long beard," Bohacek continues: "This is a matter that is of great concern to us, and I am not exaggerating. We know that our reputation among the agricultural public suffers from it. We have not spared commercial skills and efforts to resolve the problem, including in the last few months, for example at the aforementioned fair. But we cannot lose sight of the fact that in cracking that problem we are greatly dependent on our foreign partner, who has different commitments and his own needs and interests....I do not work to be a bad prophet but no significant improvement in this situation can be expected. I do not even rule out the fact that in the years to come spare parts for combines of the 'e'-line may become even more difficult to come by."

Replying to Urbanik's remark that he is surprised by Bohacek's pessimism because "only 2 years ago it seemed that better times were on the horizon,"



the Agrozet official then says: "Yes, the situation has been palpably improving in the last 2 years. But this happened after really extraordinary interventions and, as we have been told, deliveries of spare parts to Czechoslovakia were effected at the expense of the producer's own domestic market. You will surely understand that this cannot be endured for long."

In the remaining part of the interview, Bohacek recommends that Slovak farmers reduce their dependence on spare parts for GDR-made combine harvesters by "diversifying," that is, by purchasing Polish "bizon" combines. He says that despite delays in deliveries of spare parts for the Polish harvesters in the first months of 1986, "everything is returning fast to good tracks" and that spares for all modifications of the "bizon" should be abundant by now. He also assures farmers that the import of "bizons" is not "an access of fashion but a program for the entire Eighth 5-Year Plan" and that in both price and performance, the "bizon" compares favorably with the e-514 or other combines of the e-line. "We are pleasantly surprised by the good quality of these machines but, above all, by the until now virtually flawless supply discipline, as we call it, on the part of our foreign partner," Bohacek says.

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ECONOMY

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HAMAN MINERS, POWER INDUSTRY WORKERS' DAY SPEECH

AU021413 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Sep 86 p 2

["From Speech by Comrade Josef Haman," candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a meeting held in Prague on 30 August to mark the "Day of Miners and Power Industry Workers"]

Excerpts] It is appropriate to take the opportunity of this year's Day of Miners and Power Industry Workers to briefly recall how our fuel-power base coped with the entire preceding 5-year plan and which main requirements and tasks arise for it from the program adopted at the 17th CPCZ Congress.

We had to deal with and overcome a number of difficult and intricate problems and tasks in order to stabilize all our coalfields in a situation of deteriorating mining conditions. We know how much endeavor was needed to cope with the consequences of mining accidents, which we can never forget. Extraordinary dedication and heroism at work were necessary for coal mining to honorably come to terms with the tasks of the 5-year plan. This was also due to measures taken to modernize existing technology and innovate, to supply new technology, to stabilize manpower, to protect miners' health and to improve their wage, social, and living conditions.

Following initial difficulties with observance of deadlines in building nuclear power stations -- difficulties which we, however, never solved at the expense of failing to comply with safety principles -- the situation in this area became gradually stabilized in the final years of the 5-year plan. This year electricity generated in nuclear power stations will reach a proportion of 20 percent and next year 25 percent of total Czechoslovak electricity production. This is one of the major structural changes in the fuel and power sector, the prerequisites for which were established in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. It helps us to respond to our limited coal reserves and makes it possible to reduce in a planned fashion the excessive proportion of coal in our power industry as well as the impact of coal-burning on the environment.

Of great importance to us was also the increase in imports of Soviet natural gas and in its proportion in our fuel-power balance on the basis of extensive cooperation with the USSR and our participation in the construction of transit gas pipelines. This participation will continue on a significant scale.

summing up, we can responsibly state that the workforce of our fuel-power base fulfilled its tasks in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, ensured conditions for the smooth running of the national economy and supplies to the population, and came to terms even with severe tests such as the frost at the beginning of last year.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 17th party congress, we must continue to pay exceptional attention to ensuring fuels and power for the national economy.

In keeping with these resolutions, work has now ended on a comprehensive program of developing hydroelectric power stations with an output of over 10 megawatts up to the year 2000. A few days ago this program was discussed and approved by the CSSR Government and the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. The gradual implementation of this program will increase the utilization of the country's hydroelectric potential from the current less than 36 percent to roughly 65 percent by the end of the century. The degree of the utilization of this potential should further markedly increase after the year 2000. We regard this as an important part of our endeavor to promote a more balanced development of our power industry, improve environmental protection, and make a rational use of natural resources.

However, neither today nor in the years to come shall we be able to do without coal mining. It is no secret that its production is neither easy nor cheap. That is why you yourselves will have to devote much more attention than until now to the issues of the cost-effectiveness of mining and economical utilization of coal reserves. The work of our miners is difficult, highly exacting, and responsible, in view of the increasingly challenging geological conditions under which mining takes place. Our socialist society will continue to hold this work in full esteem.

Building up on measures taken by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government in the Seventh 5-Year Plan in the area of material incentives, retirement schemes, reducing overtime work, and improving miners' health, social, and living conditions, a set of additional measures has now been prepared for in-depth assessment and discussion. It places emphasis primarily on prevention and on permanently reducing risk factors in the work of miners. It concerns, above all, the development and speedy introduction of new technological devices and measures of a technological nature designed to raise the level of the protection of miners' health against the harmful consequences of dust, noise, and vibrations, to gradually reduce the proportion of overtime work, and to limit the number of miners exposed to increased risks of damage to their health. In addition to these fundamental measures of a technological nature, possibilities will also be studied of deepening the level of social security of workers threatened with, or already suffering from, mining-related occupational diseases.

There are risks that are inherent to the work of miners, which has always been, and will remain, a battle with nature. However, there are also risks that stem from violations of the principles of safe mining, from an underestimation of the dangers involved, from carelessness, hazardousness, a benevolent attitude to and disregard for shortcomings, and false solidarity within the collective. In many cases this results in accidents, including fatal ones, the development of which is of great concern to us.

Our long-term program of socioeconomic development is linked with the utilization of the potentials of Czechoslovakia's nuclear power complex. That is why it is essential that the construction of nuclear power stations should continue smoothly, in set deadlines, in accordance with the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

In the preceding years we have gained considerable experience in the production of equipment for, construction, and operation of nuclear power plants and have established necessary conditions to guarantee their operational safety. Lessons from the accident at the Chernobyl power plant as submitted by the Soviet side demonstrate the need to apply the strictest demands on the discipline of the people, order at the workplace, and reliable operation of technology. We, too, have already adopted and will continue to adopt some supplementary measures in this respect, concerning the design preparation of manufactured equipment, construction, as well as operation. These measures concern, for example, tightening up quality control of manufactured equipment and assembly work, carrying out prescribed tests in the course of construction and operation, and ensuring consistent observance of technological discipline and order at the workplace.

We fully support the proposals of the Soviet Union submitted to the IAEA in Vienna, in the work of which we have participated for a long time and with great commitment, concerning the formation of international systems for the safe development of the nuclear power industry.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government have discussed the development of the national economy and plan fulfillment in the first half of the year. It is apparent that we have succeeded in maintaining on the whole the upward trend in the dynamism of the creation of material resources.

In spite of this fact, which testifies to the possibilities of the economy and the correctness of our policy, it would be a mistake to yield to any self-satisfaction. The directive of the 17th congress obliges us to critically approach the results we have achieved and to focus attention with great exactingness primarily on those tasks and sectors in which development continues to be unsatisfactory. These include the formidable and frequently absolutely unjustifiable differences that exist between the results of enterprises, sectors, and economic production units. Particularly grave is the unsatisfactory fulfillment of the qualitative indicators of the plan in some branches and sectors and in some enterprises. The progress in improving product quality, in innovation, in modernizing the production base, and in introducing progressive technological processes is slow.

There are great shortcomings in supplier-consumer relations, which adversely affect the regularity of production, slow down the development of enterprising work collectives, and are the subject of justified criticism. It is essential to enhance responsibility and discipline on the part of suppliers in fulfilling obligations and concluded economic contracts, to raise the quality of the entire system of planning and management, and to reinforce comprehensiveness and linkages within the plan at all levels.

We all realize that the further successful upswing of our socialist homeland can be ensured only if peace is maintained in Europe and in the world, if we succeed in averting the threat of a new world war. It is only due to the great endeavor of the socialist states and the USSR in particular that Europe has enjoyed 41 years of life in peace.

However, the most reactionary imperialist circles, especially in the United States, refuse to become reconciled to this situation. They would like to upset the existing military-strategic equilibrium in the world and dictate their will to other nations from a position of strength. They have unleashed a new round of the arms race and are trying to carry out their dangerous plan to militarize outer space.

The socialist countries do not seek superiority in the military-strategic sphere, they do not want and do not need foreign territories. They are in favor of military parity on increasingly low levels, they are in favor of a world free of wars. Marked by this spirit is also the decision of the USSR to extend the one-sided moratorium on nuclear explosions, which the USSR has been observing for over a year, until 1 January 1987. Our people sincerely and spontaneously welcome and support all such peace proposals and initiatives.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### GOVERNMENT PROGRAM OF HYDROPOWER PLANTS

AU030809 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 30 August carry on page 1, and pages 1 and 2 respectively, an 800-word Pavel Paral article, entitled "Program of the Construction of New Hydroelectric Power Stations Approved; CSSR government on the Utilization of Hydropower Resources." After stating that "the CSSR Government a few days ago approved a comprehensive program of the construction of hydroelectric power stations with an output of more than 10 MW up to the year 2000," Paral says that currently the CSSR's hydroelectric potential is being used less than 36 percent. Quoting the report issued by the Research Institute of Energetics, Paral notes that hydroelectric plants are currently producing slightly more than 100 kwh annually more than in 1984, when the figure was about 3.7 billion kwh. Even after the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros project is completed and the CSSR receives almost 2 billion kwh annually, Paral continues, the state will "still lag behind the foremost industrial countries in Europe." "The total utilization of the potential of Czechoslovak waterways," he goes on to say, "roughly represents a replacement for 11 million tons of brown coal annually. The current use equals a saving of about 4 million tons." According to Paral, the constructive of new hydroelectric power plants will increase the use of hydroenergy in the CSSR to 63 percent in the year 2000, and at least 80 percent after the year 2015; the new program envisages new projects on the Labe river -- a 21.5 MW plant should be built in Dolní Zleb near Decin in 1996-2001, and five complexes should start working in the year 2004 in Male Brezno in the Ústí and Labem district with an output of 12 MW. In the ninth and tenth quinquennium three large hydroelectric power plants should be completed on the Váh River, Paral continues; two in the Žilina district (an 86-MW one on the outskirts of Žilina, and a 100-MW in Strečno); and one in Serad in the Galanta district (64 MW).

After elaborating on the advantages of hydroelectric power stations that are inexpensive to operate, Paral lists the merits of hydroelectric repumping power stations and some of their locations: the already completed plant in Dalesice, in the Trebišov district; Čierny Váh, in the Liptovský Mikuláš district; and the plant under construction in Glouch Strane, in the Bruntál district (to be completed in 1994). During the coming decade, Paral goes on to say, the largest CSSR repumping plant (with a 1000-MW output) is to be built near Krivoklát; a 600-MW plant is to be built in Ipál; and Austrian cooperation is being sought for the Bratislava-Wolfsthal hydroelectric project.

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

DROUGHT CAUSES SHORTFALL IN GRAIN--Bratislava (CTK0--This Friday [29 August] in Bratislava representatives of the Slovak Planning Commission, the Slovak Statistics Office, and financial agencies spoke with journalists about the main tasks of fulfilling the state plan of the Slovak SR for the second half-year of 1986, following the analysis of results achieved in the national economy during the first half-year. Although the development dynamics registered in the first half-year, particularly in industrial production and in construction, was on the whole more rapid than planned, problems in the smooth and rhythmic operation of production, in the structure of its range of products, and in the level of relations between suppliers and customers nevertheless continue to exist, and to some extent have even deepened. The shortfall of grain and corn, caused by extremely dry weather, is estimated at approximately 300,000 tons. In the second half-year we are to realize 59.2 percent of the volume of foreign trade; 56 percent of construction production; and more than 73 percent of deliveries of machinery and equipment for capital construction, and approve operations of 14 of the 16 construction projects planned for the current year. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 86 p 2] /12624

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ECONOMY

POLAND

DLUGOSZ INTERVIEW ON ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

AU281823 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Aug 86 p 3

[Second part of interview given by Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, to Tomasz Bartoszewicz: "Accelerated Development"; date and place not given--first paragraph is RZECZPOSPOLITA introduction]

[Excerpts] Yesterday's edition of RZECZPOSPOLITA carried the first part of an interview with Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, on the changes that are taking place in socialist economic integration. The second part of the interview is published today.

[Bartoszewicz] This is probably the right juncture at which to ask what sort of mechanisms are going to be employed to improve integration processes?

[Dlugosz] Socialist economic integration is a very complex social and economic process. Simplifying matters somewhat, the economic rationale behind it is that the sum of the economic capacities of the community's member-states should provide more than its constituent parts. It is also a question of integration processes genuinely accelerating the economic development of member-states. In the case of less developed states, such as Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam, these processes should aid the attainment of a similar level of social and economic development. This is possible through real production specialization and the development of a many-sided socialist international division of labor.

[Bartoszewicz] That is a sort of declaration of principles, to which everybody has been adding his name for a long time. However, so far there has been a lack of effective methods for carrying out these tasks.

[Dlugosz] That is why leaving aside the obvious importance of political motivation, which we talked about during the first half of our conversation, we must strive unequivocally toward strengthening economic motivation and enlarging its scope. Economic integration at the level of the world economy began to develop intensively during the first few years following the end of World War II. It is developing in one form or another on every continent. And although the foundations and nature of integration



in the capitalist world are completely different from the aims and nature of our economic integration, we often find ourselves dealing with objective economic processes (the benefits of economies of scale, for example) or scientific processes (the advantages derived from the efficient allocation of investment funds for research and development).

[Bartoszewicz] You mentioned bilateral tendencies as being one of the checks on integration in the past...

[Dlugosz] That is why it is also necessary to make cooperation and trade more multilateral in character.

[Bartoszewicz] But how can this be achieved?

[Dlugosz] This is a very complicated matter from the point of view of practice. It is question, above all, of moving away from assessing economic cooperation in bilateral terms, because viewing economic cooperation in these terms means in practice cooperation based on the lowest common denominator. As I have already said, making all currencies convertible within the community is an essential step, as is the development of financial and credit mechanisms that would make it easier to extend the scope of multilateral and bilateral cooperation in situations which require a particular partner to run a payments deficit for a certain time. This would provide a stimulus for operations of various kinds and would not make it necessary for trade to fall rigidly in line with bilateral considerations concerning dates and the range of goods traded.

[Bartoszewicz] To sum up our discussion, I would like to say that your vision of CEMA development envisages very great changes in the entire socialist community, especially in the economic field.

[Dlugosz] Changes of this kind were announced in the documents adopted at congresses of communist and workers parties during 1985 and 1986. It suffices to examine the documents of our 10th PZPR Congress and those of the 27th CPSU Congress. In this area we are actively engaged in bilateral and multilateral exchanges of experience with socialist countries. This process will continue to be intensified.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that improvements aimed at accelerating the development of socialist integration are particularly necessary for our country. The 10th PZPR Congress resolution states that among the most important conditions for our economic development are an increase in our export capacity and the intensification of economic integration with CEMA countries. It is understandable that we should concentrate on CEMA in view of the scale of our economy and the negative attitude that Western states have displayed toward us so far. One should also always bear in mind that it is the USSR and the other CEMA member-states that are and will remain the main external factor behind the acceleration that is essential to our economy. However, this does not mean that we are any less prepared to engage in partner-like cooperation with states that do not belong to CEMA, as long as such cooperation is conducted on the basis of the principles of true partnership, that is to say, on the basis of equal and mutual advantage.

ECONOMY

POLAND

POOR DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION NOTED

AU291206 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Henryk Chadzynski: "Dispute About Small-Scale Production-- A Cinderella?"]

[Excerpts] One might think that defending small-scale production is like taking coal to Newcastle in view of the fact that the green light has been given so many times to such production, to which enormous hopes were attached in the shape of expanding small enterprises and better supplies of services. Recent statements have stressed that small-scale production has even been a testing ground for economic reform. However, what has happened is that the advantageous principles of this production have ceased to operate and its entire sphere has been subjected to general institutional solutions. The results are already there: A violent expansion of small enterprises has still not taken place and there is hardly any reason for assuming that the slogan "small is beautiful" will be accepted in our economic practice and will produce results in line with our needs and potential.

As is being demonstrated by events in many countries, small-scale production is an objective necessity for contemporary economic practice. It is being dictated not only by the need to overcome current difficulties, especially supply difficulties, but also by the structural changes in the economy. The expansion of small-scale production has always been a crucial element in raising the efficiency and effectiveness of economic management, and this must be reflected in the programs for the country's development.

That is why in December 1983 the PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium passed a resolution on more fully exploiting the potential of small-scale production, stating that its share in the structure of the country's industries must be increased in order to increase the flow of goods for the population and to generally improve the efficiency of economic management.

However, it is strange that despite such an unequivocal stand by the political authorities vis-a-vis small-scale production, its projected acceleration and greater share in the national economy continue to run

in practice into so many obstacles. What is more, even planners have not paid the necessary attention to this production as is obvious from the available documents on economic plans up to 1990.

Let us recall that controversies have already been created by the assumptions of the 1986-1990 economic plan, which treats small-scale production as an appendage of the key industries, whereas the point at issue was to regard this production as an equal partner with preferential rights. The intentions in this regard as presented in the draft economic plan are rather moderate. That is why the Small-Production Council, which advised the premier, has drawn up a program that provides for more than doubling the rate of the development of small-scale production in comparison with the 1986-1990 national economy plan. It has advised that this rate should amount to over 58 percent compared with the planned 25 percent.

This is a rather large difference, and the reasons for it should not be sought in a different evaluation of objective conditions, but primarily in a different treatment of small-scale production precisely as a factor that helps to boost the efficiency of economic management. The authors of the program boldly assert that the results achieved by small-scale production in 1983-1985 show that it did not exploit all production opportunities for subjective reasons and that one illustration of this is the different speed with which local industries in individual voivodships have been rebuilt and developed. Besides, an analysis of the results achieved by small-scale production in 1983-1985 in all sectors, including the private sector, shows that objective opportunities for promoting production were not exploited.

This finding cannot be put in doubt even by the indisputable fact that during the period of overcoming the effects of our crisis, small-scale production was more efficient than the key industries. However, its performance was not equally satisfactory in all sectors and, in addition, rather disturbing trends toward flatering expansion asserted themselves. The appraisal of the results achieved by the socialized sector of small-scale production is the least controversial, although judgments on this score also differ.

The aforementioned facts must induce people concerned to pay attention to reality, which differs so much from programmatic principles. This applies to the private sector to an even greater extent, but this is another subject.

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CSO: 2600/679

ECONOMY

POLAND

MINING, POWER INDUSTRY PRODUCTION DATA CITED

LD312237 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 31 Jul 86

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Jul--Miners and power industry workers have fulfilled their targets set for this month, spokesman for the Mining and Power Industry Ministry has said.

Miners have extracted nearly 16.5 million tonnes of hard coal this month, which is over 200,000 tonnes more than in July, 1985. In the past 7 months, coal extraction topped 111.7 million tonnes. Poland exported nearly 3,310,000 tonnes of coal this month and a total of 20,367,000 tonnes in the 7 months of this year.

Crews of the open-cast lignite mines have closed this month with the output of 5,300,000 tonnes, which means nearly one million tonnes more than in July 1985. Since the beginning of this year, they have produced more than 38 million tonnes of coal, 5,370,000 tonnes more than in the same period last year.

Gas supplies for industry and population closed at 702 million cubic meters, including nearly 565 million cubic meters delivered by the Soviet Union. Five thousand, four hundred forty four million cubic meters of gas were provided for industry and population over the 7 months of this year, with the Soviet supplies reaching nearly 3,830 million cubic meters.

The power industry has generated 9,880,000 kwh of electric energy this July, while the figure for January-July 1986 is close to 80 billion kwh.

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CSO: 2020/195

ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

TEMPORARY RULE ON PRODUCE SALES--In connection with the good crops of fruit and vegetables and prompted by a concern that good use should be made of them, the mayor of Warsaw has permitted producers who do not possess a trading concession to sell fruit and vegetables without paying any marketplace fees, in places designed for this form of trade--in market squares, fairs and market places--in Warsaw and in the Warsaw Voivodship region. The retail prices of fruit and vegetables may not be higher than those in socialized trade. This decision will be in force as of tomorrow and will continue to be in force until 15 September. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Aug 86] /9604

CSO: 2600/679

POLITICS

POLAND

TONY BENN'S BBC INTERVIEW REMARKS APPLAUDED

AU041559 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Jul 86 p 2

[Colonel W. Zielinski commentary: "A Case of Inconvenient Good Sense"]

[Text] Several days ago, Krzysztof Pszeniecki, the director of the BBC's Polish-language section, conducted an interview with Tony Benn, a member of the British House of Commons and a member of the Labor Party. The content and tone of the MP's utterances were far removed from those that have hitherto been typical for the radio station. One could detect a feeling of irritation in the questions asked by Pszenicki, questions that were frequently of a completely provocative and aggressive kind, because of the assessment of the situation in our country put forward by Tony Benn.

The member of the British House of Commons spent several days in Poland at the invitation of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, where he delivered a lecture. He also met and spoke with representatives of the party and state, the church, and with people who are opposed to socialist Poland. T. Benn formulated an opinion on our political situation on the basis of these meetings. His view of the situation is far removed from the propaganda stereotypes propagated by subversive radio stations and even from the claims made by official persons in Western states.

There is little doubt that Pszenicki did not expect the following answer when he asked why the central British trade union body, the Trade Union Congress, recognizes "Solidarity" and does not want to have any dealings with the new trade unions in Poland:

"...Some of the documents issued by Solidarity's Provisional Coordinating Committee that I have read sounded to me like pure Thatcherism.... A Western observer is surprised by this convergence of the views held by Reagan, Mrs Thatcher, and the British Trtskiyists who support Solidarity. Why is this so? Reagan and Mrs Thatcher believe that Solidarity will destroy socialism in Poland, and that is why they support the movement..."

In response to a question that implied that there was no democracy in Poland, Tony Benn gave some examples of "democracy" in Great Britain:

"Let us look at this concept democracy. We are a democratic state but there is a civil war going on in Northern Ireland, there are no independent

courts, and the women who demonstrate for peace outside the Greenham Common base are continually arrested. I recently went to Wapping, where the police beat pickets with truncheons for several hours. And much of the BBC's propaganda on British democracy and the different character of Eastern Europe is somewhat misleading... As far as the BBC, for which I once worked, is concerned, I believe that the negative Polish programs broadcast by other sections of the BBC to Eastern Europe are very damaging... They often represent Poland's situation in a manner that does not correspond with the views of Poles themselves. I believe that this form of cold-war propaganda is a big mistake. We must live in peace."

"And I wonder," Benn goes on to say, "to what extent authentic opposition to the old trade unions, which expressed itself through Solidarity, is identical with the published opinions of people acting in the name of Solidarity. It seems to me that Solidarity was an expression of opposition to many bad phenomena -- in central planning, in the functioning of the bureaucracy. On the other hand, there were many people who wanted to destroy socialism in Poland and to create a capitalist society, and they exploited society's dissatisfaction to propagate something that constituted a revolutionary movement... I was also opposed to the Americans using Solidarity for the purpose of bringing down the Polish Government, in the way in which they brought down Allende in Chile..."

The accuracy of the assessment of many phenomena in Poland formulated by the member of the British House of Commons is noteworthy. This applies especially to his assessment of the activities of people acting in the name of Solidarity and their ideological links with the most bellicose leaders and representatives of imperialist states. And what must be stressed is that Tony Benn defined the goal of their activity precisely: the destruction of socialism in Poland. Pszenicki's irritation should not come as a surprise to us. Tony Benn's objectivity and sound reason is not only inconvenient; it also compromises the anti-Polish campaign that the BBC and other such radio stations have waged hitherto.

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CSO: 2600/676

POLITICS

POLAND

MESSNER VISIT TO HUNGARY PREVIEWED

LD040627 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 3 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep--Tomorrow, Polish Premier Zbigniew Messner will start his official, friendly visit to Hungary.

This visit will constitute an important step towards the implementation of decisions and aims adopted during Janos Kadar's talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski held here last March.

The friendship of long standing, mutual assistance, solidarity in action, and favourable cooperation are factors shaping Polish-Hungarian relations for years. Particular prospects for developing them emerged after World War II, when they were based on proletarian internationalism, systemic unity. As early as in 1948, both countries signed an agreement on cooperation and mutual assistance, and along with the "Comprehensive Programme of the Development of Relations Between Poland and Hungary in the Years 1984-1990" signed in 1984, it constitutes the foundation of the development of all-round cooperation.

The decisive role in consolidating Polish-Hungarian relations is played by the cooperation between the worker's parties and meetings of the leaders of both socialist states. In April, 1982, Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a visit to Hungary and in October, the following year, Poland played host to a party-governmental delegation led by Janos Kadar. In November, 1984, the two leaders held talks in Budapest, and in March this year, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party stayed in Poland on an official, working visit. Also regular and frequent are talks at governmental level, especially economic ones.

A constant development of economic relations and trade is recorded. Crucial cooperation agreements are signed. Polish-Hungarian commodity turnover increased in 1981-85 from 715 million to 1 billion roubles. This year's exchange is estimated to exceed the value of 1.1 billion roubles. Close cooperation covers first of all the automotive industry, as well as the chemical, pharmaceutical, and the electro-engineering industry. This year, Poland will purchase more than 1,000 "Ikarus" buses, in exchange for Polish passenger cars, trucks and vans. More than 50,000 Polish Fiat 126 P economy cars have been already exported to Hungary, along with "Nysa," "Zuk" vans, and "Star" trucks. Nearly all colour TV sets produced in Hungary are equipped with Polish tubes. Some 9,000 Polish specialists are working in Hungary.



The Polish-Hungarian cooperation serves the development of both states, as well as, the consolidation of the socialist community. It is worth adding, that both befriended nations and states are linked by identical attitudes towards international developments and issues of the contemporary world. Both countries, along with the remaining Warsaw Treaty states, act in the international arena in favour of the implementation of peace aims, elimination of threats posed by the implementation of peace aims, elimination of threats posed by the confrontation-oriented policy of imperialism. Polish and Hungarian foreign policies contribute to the consolidation of peace and detente.

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CSO: 2020/194

POLITICS

POLAND

MESSNER VISITS MILITARY UNITS 2 SEPTEMBER

LD031951 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Sep 86

[No video available]

[Excerpts] In accordance with the practice established after the 10th PZPR Congress members of the party leadership went to direct meetings with work forces today. Such gatherings allow one to get acquainted with the opinion of the working class on the subject of the most topical issues which trouble the working people and provide opportunity to think about the implementation of the tasks formulated by the congress. Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, stayed at works in Pila.

Premier Zbigniew Messner also visited today military units. Here is a unit of our Air Force. The premier was welcomed by Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense. Premier Zbigniew Messner Saluted the military banner. [martial music]

[Begin recording] [Messner] Greetings, soldiers!

[Soldiers] Greetings, Comrade Premir! [end recording]

The guest was told about the tasks facing the Air Force and ways and methods of training of the flight and ground personnel.

Here is the SU-22 aircraft and its armament. This is one of the most modern aircraft of the Air Force. The premier was interested in its performance data and in the way in which this aircraft is flown. [passage indistinct] Here is a group of leading pilots of this unit. The informal conversation focused on the service in the Air Force and its demands.

Here is a mechanized unit belonging to the Pomorze Military District. The training of subunits of various kinds is taking part here, on this open-air training ground near the barracks. These soldiers also were visited by Premier Zbigniew Messner. During the visit he was acquainted with the unit's weapons and also the role of the Pomorze Military District in Poland's defense system. The premier also visited the remembrance room of the unit and its training areas.

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CSO: 2600/677

POLITICS

POLAND

PARTY LEADERS MEET, DIALOGUE WITH WORKERS

LD031503 Warsaw PAP in English 0645 GMT 3 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep--Members of party leadership--the Political Bureau and PUWP CC Secretariat--spent Tuesday, 2 September, on visits to various Polish regions and resulting direct conversations and meetings with workers' crews. In this way, just like after the 10th PUWP Congress in July and then in early August, the present meetings have become a concrete fulfillment of the principle, formulated by the 10th Congress, that members of central and provincial party authorities will use a day a month, scheduled for CC Political Bureau meeting, for taking part in meetings of basic party organizations, meeting with worker crews, party members, and people of no party affiliation.

The concrete and businesslike dialogue which developed during today's visits was dominated by issues related to the place and role of the basic party links in their milieu, conditions of successful overcoming the still existing difficulties, initiating the movement of a universal and solid work. For the participants, i.e., party leadership members, workers, and activists from individual enterprises, it was an occasion to present their experience and views regarding the most important social, political, and especially economic problems important for the crews.

PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner, paid a working visit to the northwestern town of Pila today. He was interested, among other things, in the province's economic problems.

The prime minister met with workers of Poland's largest producer of light sources, the "polam" lighting equipment factory, where he acquainted himself with the production process and the possibilities for its further modernization, as well as with the welfare conditions of the employees.

At the end of his visit to Pila, Zbigniew Messner met with the provincial authorities to discuss social and economic problems of the region and the prospects for its development.

PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski visited the "Rewolucji Pazdziernikowej" printing house in Warsaw. Answering a question from a trade unionist concerning the Polish foreign debt, Orzechowski said that the pace of repayment depends also on the creditors. If they start

treating Poland as a normal partner worthy of investment, there will emerge a possibility to modernize Polish industry and, in consequence, increase exports, which is a condition of gaining funds to repay the debt and interest. But first of all we ourselves must improve the state of our economy, seek its modernization and updating, the minister added.

Concrete forms of efficient implementation of the 10th PUWP Congress resolutions were the subject of conversations between Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Baryla and employees of the petrochemical works in Plock. The "Petrochemia" plant fully approves the 10th PUWP Congress' proposals concerning the rationalization of employment and better management of labour. The plant has already succeeded in introducing brigade and "agency" systems of work at its production sections, which are based on agreements between worker teams with the management on the execution of tasks. Now it sometimes happens that one worker is enough to do the job done previously by four. Jozef Baryla listened to the workers' opinions and remarks on this question.

Participants in the conversations pointed out that--in line with the suggestions of the 10th PUWP Congress--the upcoming factory PUWP report-electoral conference will discuss a programme for employment stabilization and rational manpower management.

PUWP CC Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek met with workers of the "Lucznik" metal works in Radom, where sewing machines and typewriters are made.

The workers shared with Ciosek their observations and remarks on the economic reform principles, the attestation of jobs which will be soon implemented also in this enterprise, the possibilities of wider utilization of modern technological progress, the working conditions, discipline, and productivity. They stressed that wages are now closely related to the effects the workers reach at their workstands.

Ciosek also visited the nation's and Europe's largest coal-burning power plant "Kozienice" where, like at "Lucznik," production and welfare-related issues were in the focus alongside the attestation of jobs.

Conditions of daily work and commuting, queues in stores, lack of sufficiently developed and easily accessible services--those are some issues which came up in conversations of member of Political Bureau, Secretary of the PUWP CC Jan Glowczyk with inhabitants of Skierniewice, central Poland.

Visits in shops brought into focus glaring unconcern, lack of organizational skills and indifference in treatment of customers there. Although bread-stuffs are produced in sufficient quantities, deliveries of meat products and meat to local stores are big, the organization of sales is often disastrous. Inhabitants of Skierniewice criticized those shortcomings and offered ways to eliminate them.

Jan Glowczyk also visited employees of the Skierniewice enterprise of ventilation equipment "RAWENT" and sought the views of workers on things which stood in the way of a better life of everyone. In reply, foreman Zbigniew Michalak

said that high quality of products should be a matter of honour of every worker, wages must be dependent on the quality of labour and professional skills. Good specialists should have good salaries. This should be the concern of the political and administrative management of the enterprise, trade unions, self-governments. Similar opinions and thoughts were also expressed during Jan Glowczyk's visit to the Zyrardow factory of technological fabrics. Conversations with workers centred on problems of organization and quality of labour, both in the Zyrardow enterprise and in the country.

Last month I earned additionally more than four thousand zlotys: the new system of wages permits to earn more--this opinion was expressed by Stanislaw Nowicki from steel workers "Warszawa" in a conversation with visiting member of Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC Jozef Cryrek.

Mill operator in the same works, Jozef Piotrowski, said that the workers feel that the authorities should do more to halt price and wage escalation. His younger colleague Waldemar Janiszewski pointed to the need for a greater differentiation of wages, including greater bonuses for shift workers.

Alternate member of the Political Bureau and First Secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Gdansk Stanislaw Bejger and Deputy Premier Wladyslaw Gwiazda visited employees of "Bimet" of Gdansk, the enterprise producing 95 percent of all Polish-made slide bearings.

During the working visit, conversations with the enterprise management and workers at their posts, the guests were especially interested in work efficiency and quality of production, its organization, issues of review and attestation of working posts, prospects for the enterprise's development.

The conversation moved to such problems as wages, market supplies, housing. Generally we do not complain about wages, we work well thus we earn well--said the workers. Worse is the situation in market supplies, especially meat products--stressed women employees.

Stanislaw Bejger acknowledged that there were problems with supplies of higher quality meat products at the coast during the summer because of the large influx of tourists. Necessary measures were undertaken, including deliveries from reserves and problems should not reappear, he added.

Questions of party work after the 10th PUWP Congress were one of the main topics of a meeting between member of Political Bureau of the PUWP CC Zofia Stepien and party-economic activists from the party organization in steel mill "Bierut."

Zofia Stepien was told that the factory party organization was facing an important task of preparing and conducting review and attestation of working posts. This cannot be done superficially, it must serve to eliminate technological obstacles and release new production and organizational potential.

Alternate member of Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC Zbigniew Michalek visited farmers of Chelm Voivodship. During a visit to a leading

private farmer Krzysztof Bejda, the 21-year-old farmer specializing in production of fattening cattle for exports spoke about his work. The 43 hectare farm is fully mechanized and Bejda helps neighbouring farmers with his equipment. He gathers 40 quintals from hectare on fourth and fifth class soil. Such farmers we must support--stressed Zbigniew Michalek.

During a visit to an agricultural combine, manager Jan Andrezejuk complained about labour shortage experienced by his enterprise which employs 7 workers per 100 hectares on the average. This is not a small number, replied Zbigniew Michalek. You should search for ways to boost work efficiency. This is the only possible way to make up for the decreasing number of people active in agriculture.

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CSO: 2020/194

POLITICS

POLAND

OPZZ CHAIRMAN MAKES 2-DAY WORKING VISIT TO PRAGUE

LD262226 Warsaw PAP in English 1653 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] Prague, 26 Jul—A delegation of the National Agreement of Trade Unions (OPZZ), headed by PUWP CC Political Bureau member, OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, has paid a two-day working visit to Prague.

During talks held with representatives of Czechoslovak trade movement activists, headed by member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia CC, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions in Czechoslovakia Karl Hoffmann, the sides exchanged information on the current and most important tasks of trade union movements in both countries.

Both sides noted with satisfaction further development of mutual cooperation, in a considerable degree exceeding adopted agreements. This cooperation is a practical implementation of conclusions from talks between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Gustav Husak.

The second part of the talks dealt with international problems. "The Polish union organization ties, [as received] on a par with Czechoslovakia, great importance to the preparations for the forthcoming 1st World Congress of Trade Union to be held in Berlin," Alfred Miodowicz told PAP.

Miodowicz added that "this congress should strengthen OPZZ's position in the international workers' movement, and create an opportunity to actively join in the works of the World Trade Union Movement."

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POLITICS

POLAND

PAP REPORTS VISIT BY WFTU OFFICIALS

Officials Meet With OPZZ Leaders

LD031400 Warsaw PAP in English 1521 GMT 2 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep--A delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) with its President Sandor Gaspar, who is also president of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions and member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party CC, paid a visit to Warsaw today at the invitation from the National Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ.

The delegation comprised WFTU Vice President Karel Hoffmann, who is also chairman of Czechoslovakia's Central Council of Trade Unions and member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia CC, and WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria.

At a meeting with OPZZ leadership, also attended by Political Bureau member, PUMP CC Secretary Marian Wozniak, OPZZ chairman, PUWP CC Political Bureau member Alfred Miodowicz briefed the guests on preparations carried out by Polish trade unions for the 2nd OPZZ Assembly and the 11th World Congress of Trade Unions.

The sides also exchanged views on the current situation within the international trade union movement and activities carried out by the international labour organization.

WFTU Chairman Interviewed

LD031408 Warsaw PAP in English 1526 GMT 3 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep--Chairman of World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) Sandor Gaspar, now on a visit to Poland, told PAP that the 11th World Congress of Trade Unions to start in Berlin in two weeks would provide an opportunity for WFTU members to extensively exchange views on all issues interesting for working people.

These will be such issues as combatting effects of economic crisis, problems related to application of scientific-technological achievements in economic



activity, struggle against unemployment, halting inflation, opposing attacks undertaken by some governments and circles of great capital on trade union laws and also the role of trade unions in the defence of peace and disarmament.

"It is certain that the world federation must direct its debates to such a line that would be possible to approve by both trade unions from socialist countries and, for instance, by the trade union movement of developing countries. The situation of trade unions is diverse in various regions and conditions for their activities vary but we have been trying to concretize tasks for specific regions of the world, for Asia, Africa, Latin America, so that we could promote unity," Gaspar continued.

"I am convinced that Polish trade union movement, a founder of WFTU, will soon take a deserved place both in the world trade union movement and in the WFTU activity," Gaspar added in conclusion.

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POLITICS

POLAND

DAILY ON TRADE UNIONS' ACHIEVEMENTS, TASKS

AU021408 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Aug 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Trade Union Are an Important and Difficult Partner"]

[Text] There are about 6.5 million trade unionists in some 26,000 plant trade union organizations affiliated in 132 national federations, of which 126 are represented in the All-Polish Trade Union Accord [OPZZ]. These are the brief data of the reborn trade union movement, which in almost 4 years has become the largest organized structure of the working people in Poland.

In 1983 our adversaries, pessimists, and ridiculars predicted that those who organized plant trade unions in line with the trade union law would suffer a defeat. Much was written and spoken about the crisis of confidence, and the sense of rebuilding the trade union organization was put into doubt on the strength of misleading arguments.

The party's position on the status, role, and place of trade unions in our public life has been unequivocal ever since the ninth party congress. Independent and self-governing class trade unionism is a must in the socialist state as the working people's organization. This position was reflected in legislation and primarily in the new trade union law, which bestowed extensive powers and wide-ranging opportunities for action on the trade union organizations.

In the same way, the regulations and practice of the state authorities show that they view the trade union movement as an important, albeit difficult, partner in some specific situations.

Halfway through 1986 no one can have the slightest doubt that the renaissance of trade unionism is a fact, as attested to by the attitude of millions and millions of workers toward trade unions, which they regard as necessary because these represent their interests, needs, and aspirations.

The 10th PZPR Congress resolution states: "Trade unions are park and parcel of the socialist system and are able to play their role effectively as servants of the workers class and of other groups of the working people.

It is our wish that trade unions should influence the state's socioeconomic policy and protect the occupational and social interests of the working people. At the same time, we expect that trade unions will be bolder in inspiring and supporting all forms of militancy in the process of work, in community life and in the innovation movement, and will promote better work organization and discipline, greater responsibility, and greater occupational pride."

The trade union struggle for the working people's interests in the socialist state is more than just combating the bureaucracy, indifference, and inability of the economic administration, promoting work safety and collective bargaining, and so on. It is also a struggle for work as it should be performed and valued by everyone. It is a struggle against waste, laziness, and disregarding one's duty toward work and other tasks. The trade union movement, which continues to gain in strength and develop, is aware of its responsibilities and tasks.

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CSO: 2600/676

POLITICS

POLAND

TWO PRO-SOLIDARITY PROHIBITIONISTS SENTENCED

AU011716 Paris AFP in English 1707 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Sep (AFP)--Two Polish prohibitionists associated with the banned trade union Solidarity were sentenced Monday to pay fines or go to prison for having picketed a liquor store here, reliable sources said.

The activists were identified as Marcin Przybylowicz, 49, and Antoni Zambrowski, 52. They were guilty of having set up protest posters in an "unauthorized" zone.

Mr Przybylowicz was sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000 zlotys (150 dollars) or face 60 days' imprisonment and Mr Zambrowski, to pay 20,000 zlotys or spend 40 days in prison.

The two men refused to pay the fines and were jailed. They plan to appeal, the sources said.

They were picked up Saturday outside a liquor store in the residential area of Zoliborz. The incriminating posters read: "Solidarity with sobriety" and "Don't drink your country under the table."

A child accompanying them carried a poster saying "Daddy doesn't drink."

On 14 August, two other local temperance workers were sentenced to pay fines for likewise having demonstrated outside a liquor store.

Meanwhile, Jozef Pinior, a former Solidarity official from the southwestern city of Wroclaw, was released Monday morning after having been detained during a 48-hour period, associates said.

Mr Pinior was picked up for "routine" questioning, apparently to prevent his taking part in politically sensitive memorial ceremonies on Sunday, his friends said.

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POLITICS

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YOUTH DAILY ON AUG 1980, 'SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY'

AU021214 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29-31 Aug 86 p 2

[Editorial article]

[Text] Six years have elapsed since the workers protests of August 1980. The events of that time have to be viewed from three angles: the political, the social, and the economic. The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress considered the August protests justified and adopted a program that marked a turning point in those areas that were the subject of the liveliest discussion and will determine Poland's future.

In the area of politics, the party became the initiator of changes that created conditions for the development of socialist democracy. Many important decisions are now made at lower decision-making levels and this has given rise to many grass-roots initiatives. The role and authority of the Sejm have grown considerably and the powers of regional representative bodies and social organizations have been extended. The 10th PZPR Congress viewed these changes as positive and attached particular importance to increasing the influence of the workers' class on social processes and political decision-making.

The trade union movement is one of the key elements in the democratization process initiated by the August agreements. This movement is self-governing, independent of the administration, and class-based in view of the preponderance of workers among its membership of 6.5 million and in the leaderships of its individual cells. The holding of social consultations before important decisions are made -- on matters such as price increases, pay, and collective agreements -- constitutes another concrete example of a solution that serves to further the development of democracy.

The events of 6 years ago are a lesson for both society and the authorities. The authorities must conscientiously strive to ascertain the opinions of the workers' class and working people must make greater efforts to familiarize themselves with information on the political and economic factors surrounding decisions.

By looking back in time we can best assess the road that has been travelled since then. What has been done? Many just demands contained in the agreements have not been realized for objective reasons; for example,

postulates concerning housing construction, an area that is of particular importance for young people. Other demands have not been realized because of our weaknesses: attitudes toward work, bureaucracy, and inconsistency.

Changing sociopolitical and economic conditions engender new expectations. Social expectations, especially young people's expectations, are greater than our achievements. But during the course of these last years we have also learned that the path to the realization of even the most justified demands must be one whose characteristic features are consistency in the implementation of decisions, a high standard of discipline, and greater efficiency.

For the younger generation of Poles, the 10th PZPR Congress program, the social and economic achievements of the 1980's, and the democratization of life in Poland are a realistically met out reference point. Today, the chief task facing our nation is the acceleration of economic development. The mainsprings of economic development are scientific and technological progress, a comprehensive restructuring of the economy and an improvement in standards of quality. The younger generation is particularly interested in building a strong, modern and prosperous Poland. Whether we will realize these aims will be determined by our knowledge, our activeness, our dynamism, and the eagerness with which we seek to overcome obstacles.

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PROFESSOR WIATR ON PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

AU281329 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 13 Aug 86 pp 3, 15

[Interview given by Professor Jerzy J. Wiatr to Alicja Kos: "On Uses of Public Opinion Research: -- date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Kds] It seems that the present massive exploitation of the results of public opinion polls by our politicians and mass media is to some extent an outcome of the fact that we have had new governments since 1980.

[Wiatr] I think that political systems learn in the same way as human beings, but some are faster and some slower on the uptake. To put it in a nutshell, on the part of the political systems learning involves selecting governing teams that are able to learn from experience. In our case, the experience at the turn of the eighties was responsible for the lessons that are now being put into practice. One of the most obvious errors of the seventies and, to some extent, of the preceding period was creating the illusion that everything was of the best order in the best of worlds. This went hand in hand with concealing negative features, including negative social awareness, from the people and from the government itself. What was called a propaganda of success, at first in a positive and then in an ironic and critical sense, was not only propaganda directed at society, but also propaganda directed at the governing bodies, the members of which -- at least many of them -- had no true knowledge of reality, including knowledge of true public opinion. However, this time we have learned from experience and are capable of being wiser after the event so that we may avoid repeating old errors. It also seems that not only large sections of our community, but also our political leadership realize that it is necessary to have a clear knowledge of society's views and moods. That is why in one of his speeches General Jaruzelski, at that time still premier, cited public opinion poll results that showed that our people had taken a negative view of the implementation of the economic reform. This fact might have shocked some people, but it also demonstrated that the utilization of public opinion poll results in our country is quite a different proposition from what superficial critics of our system imagine it to be. The premier cited these results not because he wanted to embellish government policy by means of propaganda, but because he wanted to tell us about the important unsolved and difficult problem created by

the mounting distrust in the results of the economic reform. The reason for this new approach to public opinion polls lies outside the area of the leading political bodies and is rooted in the present condition of Polish public opinion. Without idealizing this opinion it can and should be said that we, our society have learned very many lessons from the bitter experience of the past few years and that we are now more articulate, controversial, and inquiring about events and are more of a political factor in events.

[Kos] A Western theory states that public opinion polls shape public opinion. What is your view? Is this shaping good for society?

[Wiatr] Despite their various technical shortcomings, public opinion polls to some extent do help shape public opinion, and to me this is a very good thing. The shaping of public opinion is to me that function of public opinion polls which transforms the views of individuals into a certain public thesis. The results of public polls enable us to find out that a certain view on a certain question is shared by a majority of our people, although this view is defined in different terms. However, public opinions polls can influence general public opinion only if their results are widely known. If we identify individual views without ensuring that they are known outside the small immediate circle of people concerned, it is impossible to transform the views scattered throughout the country into public opinion. It is therefore natural that scientific and opinion-forming circles demand that the scope of the openness of public opinion be as large as possible, although we must realize that no country in the world always publishes all the results of public opinion polls.

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POLITICS

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ECONOMY MOST IMPORTANT IN PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

LD020918 Warsaw PAP in English 2345 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Sep--As much as 60 percent from almost 6.8 thousand questions directed to the Polish Government by those embraced by the latest poll of the Public Opinion Polling Centre (CBOS) dealt with economic issues. They addressed such questions, to which, according to those poll, the government should answer publicly or to which they wished to hear an official answer.

Most of the questions dealt with prices and their increase and inflation (40 percent of all questions), wages and the standard of living (27.5 percent), the market and shortages of goods (over 21 percent).

One-fifth of the questions touched the general state of the economy, economic reform and economic strategy. Equally often questions referred to problems of agricultural production and life in rural areas, to the housing problem. In about 15 percent of the questions, those polled were interested in Poland's financial debt and in trade relations with Western countries.

Other questions dealt with social ills, education, propaganda, civil freedoms and with the country's defences. These questions can be treated as a "rim" of the main trend of social interest in the economy, according to the authors of the study.

In the eyes of the public opinion, as it ensues from the poll, the role of the government is first of all linked with the responsibility for the state of economy and citizens' financial situation and, to a lesser degree, for the social, foreign and defence policy.

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DETAINEES TAKE ADVANTAGE OF 17 JULY LAW

Radio Solidarity Worker

LD281842 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Aug 86

[no video available]

[Text] More and more people are taking advantage of the Law on Special Procedure in relation to the Perpetrators of Certain Crimes. Mirosława Zgirska, from Gdansk, currently in custody, turned to the investigative authorities expressing a desire to take advantage of the benevolence of the law. She is under temporary arrest in connection with the investigation against Bogdan Borusewicz. Mirosława Zgirska agreed to make a statement which we have received:

[Begin Zgirska recording] My name is Mirosława Zgirska. I am an inhabitant of Gdansk. I was arrested in January of this year, accused of involvement in Mr Bogdan Borusewicz's group that prepared and broadcast the programs of Radio Solidarity [radio solidarnosc]. In the course of my stay in investigative custody hitherto, I had a lot of time to think through my activity. I arrived at the conclusion that this activity, carried out together with other people, was senseless. My stay in investigative arrest is especially difficult for me, as I am a single mother bringing up a young daughter. My daughter is staying with my family at the present time. However, everyone will understand that no one is in a position to substitute for a child's mother. That is why I would very much like to take advantage of the benevolence of the law of 17 July and return home. At the same time, I assume the obligation to refrain from engaging in illegal activity. I also hope that I will be able to return to a normal life after such a long period of isolation. [end recording]

Up until today, 316 persons, including 126 who declared themselves to the investigative bodies, revealing their illegal activity against the state and public order, have taken advantage of the Law on Special Procedure in Relation to the Perpetrators of Certain Crimes.

Suspect Charged with Hiding Bujak

LD021852 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Sep 86

[no video available]

[Text] On 31 May Zbigniew Wroniak from Warsaw was detained and subsequently remanded. He is suspected of helping to hide Zbigniew Bujak.

Zbigniew Wroniak recently requested the prosecuting bodies to make it possible for him to avail himself of the clemency of the act on special procedure regarding the perpetrators of certain crimes. The prosecutor's office has agreed to the face and personal data of the suspect being made known.

[Begin Wroniak recording] I was remanded on the charge of helping Zbigniew Bujak, who was in hiding. Now I deem my behavior as a fundamental error, which has had a negative effect not only on me but on my close family. In view of the fact that the act of special procedure regarding the perpetrators of certain crimes adopted by the SEJM on 17 July 1986 offers an opportunity to return to normal life, I would like to avail myself of it. At the same time, I declare that in the future I will observe the law and will work honestly for the good of our country. I declare and assure that never again, to the end of my life, will I commit an act that breaks the law. [end recording]

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TV ASSEMBLY DELEGATE ELECTION SYSTEM DESCRIBED

PM041221 Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 6 Aug 86 p 3

[Interview with Jozef Wiaderny, secretary of the Electoral Commission of the Second Trade Unions Assembly, by Jaroslaw Karczewski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Karczewski] In accordance with the decision of the First Trade Unions Assembly, a body representing all union members is to meet again on the second anniversary of its creation, that is, toward the end of November, to answer the question: What next? Who is going to sit on that body?

[Wiaderny] Union delegates, just as they did two years ago. Before the Bytom meeting, the principles of their selection were determined by the College of Chairmen. Now that we have active statutory bodies of the OPZZ [National Trade Unions Accord], the latter providing nationwide representation of the union movement, these principles have been elaborated by an electoral commission, of which I am secretary, and approved by the OPZZ council. They were approved in their fifth working draft, which indicates the extent of the debate, and even controversy, that they generated.

[Karczewski] What were these about?

[Wiaderny] The main concern was to facilitate the formation, by way of an election, of a body providing maximum union representation, which would subsequently map out action lines for the re nascent union movement and decide on its organizational structure. All that was to be effected in the present conditions of high fragmentation of the union movement, the latter comprising more than 130 nationwide organizations and 24,500 largely autonomous enterprise organizations.

[Karczewski] How was that difficult dilemma resolved?

[Wiaderny] We have adopted an overall principle whereby delegates' mandates will be distributed among individual federations and nationwide organizations, with one mandate per 4,000 members. For example, the Federation of Agricultural Employees' Trade Unions holds 126 mandates, the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions 112, the Polish Teachers' Union 125, the Federation of Metal Metal Workers 75, and the Federation of Metallurgical Workers' Trade Unions 55.

[Karczewski] Does this mean that delegates' elections will be organized by the federations and the nationwide unions?

[Wiaderny] The OPZZ does not encroach here on the powers of self-governing structures. However, we know that those individual federations which embrace enterprises employing upward of 4,000 trade unionists pass their mandates to enterprise organizations in those enterprises, and it is the enterprise organizations which arrange the elections. To give you an example, the Lenin Steelworks, whose union membership runs to more than 16,000, will be electing 4 delegates.

Those nationwide organizations which group together smaller enterprise organizations will individually decide about their delegates' election meetings.

[Karczewski] Who nominates the candidates?

[Wiaderny] Each member taking part in a meeting and each enterprise organization is empowered to nominate candidates. The outcome will be decided by the voters. Once elected, the delegate becomes a representative of his organization.

[Karczewski] I understand that election meetings are not restricted to the act of voting alone.

[Wiaderny] It would be too formal if they were, and that is not what we are after. Each election meeting will be combined with the submission of the draft program to be presented by the OPZZ to its Second Assembly. There is no doubt that members taking part in election meetings will propose many addenda to the draft program, on their own behalf as well as on that of the work forces they represent.

[Karczewski] What time scale is envisaged for the election of delegates?

[Wiaderny] The first election meetings have already taken place and first delegates have been elected. For example, the Federation of Health Care Employees' Trade Unions has already chosen 7 delegates. The campaign should be completed by 15 September.

[Karczewski] Thank you for talking to me.

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POLITICS

POLAND

LACK OF REGARD FOR 'FREDERICK II' EXAMINED

AU101231 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 33, 16 Aug 86 p 10

[Tadeusz Cegielski article: "Why the Poles Have No Love for Frederick the Great"]

[Text] Frederick II about the Poles (from Stanislaw Salmonowicz's book "Frederick II"):

-- "In Poland it is possible to accomplish everything with gold."

-- The frivolous, ungrateful, and inconsistent Poles are the most servile nation in Europe."

-- To Gedeon Benoit, Prussian resident in Warsaw: "You should know that these people are haughty, capricious, and arrogant when they are aware of support by others, but that they crawl as soon as they feel themselves cornered and without assistance... It is no use being good to them because they take goodness for weakness, becoming even more arrogant and proud. You have to be tough to force them to retreat..."

-- "For the sake of my interests, Polish affairs must always be kept in a certain state of confusion and no Sejm must be allowed to continue."

-- To Hoffmann, Prussian resident in Warsaw: "Enlarging the Polish Crown Army is the most harmful thing in the world for my interests. You should employ every possible means to prevent this enlargement, even if it is necessary to break up the Sejm."

-- "One should not stand on ceremony when dealing with the Poles because they will become even more spoiled. What one should do is to be most severe in ensuring that they obey orders and fulfill their obligations in good time. One must not be indulgent toward them in any way because nothing is of any avail if one does not immediately threaten an execution."

To the Poles the date of 17 August 1786 means nothing as a day of a very important event in history and leaves them emotionally cold. Of course, historians will immediately point out that Frederick II Hohenzollern (1712-1786), king of Prussia, who was called "the Great" while still alive, died on that day.

The bicentenary of this death is being solemnly celebrated in the two German states. Both the GDR and the FRG continue to publish special articles and to organize scientific conferences to analyze Frederick's reign from the perspective of 2 centuries. Die Historische Kommission zu Berlin has organized a great international conference in West Berlin in honor of Frederick the Great.

Although the date of the Prussian king's death is of no special significance in Polish history, his person is part and parcel of our annals and constitutes a component element of the Polish national myth and a segment of the Prussian state's "black legend." However, before we discuss our national myth, let us ponder why the Germans love Frederick the Great and why they hate him at times. Every historical myth, which is a vehicle for certain political, ethical, and other values, in time produces an antimyth built around the ideas that the process of history has refuted. The German "black legend" with regard to Frederick the Great has as long traditions as its Polish counterpart, but its form and roots are naturally different.

In the Germans' historical awareness Frederick the Great functions as the proper creator of the Prussian state, although this achievement should also be shared by his father, Frederick Wilhelm I. Frederick the Great is regarded as the architect of the Hohenzollern monarchy's political, military, and economic might and as a man who elevated the second-rate little German state to the status of a European power and pushed Prussia along the road to German unification under the Prussian aegis. Frederick's person is a carrier of political ideas such as monarchical absolutism and the principle of "Staatsraison," which means that the state holds sway over society and that individual and group interests are governed by the interests of the state. It is therefore no accident that the defense of Frederick's achievements gained strength in the second half of the 19th century and reached its acme, after the 1871 unification of Germany. This defense found expression in Heinrich Treitschke's (1834-1896) works on history, which constitute an important breakthrough in the annals of the Frederick legend.

Whereas the Great Hohenzollern was a model for all conservative Prussian and German ideologues, initially he did not enjoy a good reputation among representatives of the German unification movement born at the beginning of the 19th century. The German national movement, which had links with romanticism, countered the ideas of the enlightened cosmopolite from Potsdam, who found it difficult to use his mother tongue, with ideas of "truly" German heroes. The romantic-minded young people looked for these heroes particularly among German emperors, knights, and artists in the distant Middle Ages. Wearing long hair and beards and clad in leather jerkins in the "fashion of ancient Germans," German students continued to burn demonstratively not only French white stockings as symbols of alien culture and customs, which dominated Germany from the beginning of the 18th Century, but also Hessian soldiers' wigs and Prussian corporals' sticks, which were the attributes of bellicose German absolutism and symbols of military drill and of unqualified obedience to the state.

The aversion to Prussia -- much of this aversion was caused by the Hohenzollern's antinational stance after 1815 -- disappeared during the stormy period of the Spring of Nations, when the German national movement entered its nationalistic and chauvinist phase. In Treitschke's generation the traditions of the Prussian state joined hands with the nationalistic traditions to create an inseparable entity. As seen by Treitschke and his readers, Frederick II is an embodiment not only of Prussian but also of German virtues and appears as a German patriot who draws up ambitious plans for his nation.

The conservative and nationalistic streams of German ideology were denounced by the German radical democratic movement and later on by the German workers movement. The rejection of the values propagated by the legend around Frederick produced a typical antilegend. Historian Franz Mehring, who wrote "Die Lessing Legende" in 1983, helped to create this antilegend. In his work this ideologue of German social democracy leveled crushing criticism at the component parts of the myth about Frederick and compared them with the values produced for German culture by Lessing, a writer and thinker. Mehring's criticism was based on the Marxist tradition, which noted the reactionary character of the Prussian Junker state and criticized Frederick and his followers for cooperation with Russia. According to Marx, in the alliance with Russia, Prussia played the role of "Russia's jackal," which was especially obvious in the two states' relations with the old [Polish] Republic.

The defense of the Prussian state, army, and administration working in the interest of German nationalism reached its zenith during the period of national frustration and xenophobia, following the Reich's defeat in the war of 1914. Adolf Hitler was very fond of comparing himself to Frederick the Great as well as Bismarck and Hindenburg. It goes without saying that a completely subjective image of the king as the carrier of German national interests had to be rejected by German historical science of the past few decades as an image reduced to absurdity.

This does not mean that the stream of defense has completely disappeared. What has happened is that it has acquired new forms, which are much more refined than they were in the old days. Walter Hubatsch, a brilliant West German historian, stresses in his works the humanitarian and human values that Frederick's enlightened regime was supposed to realize. The rationally organized administrative and military apparatus taking care of social needs, free medical care during and after wars, pensions for military widows and old soldiers, compulsory education for males, religious tolerance, order, and security -- these are just some of the features of Frederick's Prussia, features that his apologists continue to stress to this very day.

This treatment of Frederick is not devoid of critical elements such as his excessive inclination to promote personal government, to interfere in petty affairs which should have been left to his subordinates, to follow an erroneous economic policy, and, because of his expansive



personality, to make a negative impact on the performance of the Prussian bureaucratic machinery which, deprived of his leadership, was bound to grow degenerate and become a brainless giant incapable of independent activity.

These and other critical evaluations concerning Frederick II do not change the generally positive image of him as creator of the 18th century "police state." This enlightened state that professes the principle of "Everything for the people and no notice of the people" was a particular form of the welfare state. Seeking to ensure better conditions for its subjects through legal assistance, education, and social care, the state took no notice of the people's views on this score. In practice the state brutally interfered with various areas of public life and even with strictly private life.

Another feature of this type of state was the aim to classify society, according to which principle every member of society was meant to hold a particular place and function allocated to him by the state. In a society like this there was no room either for typically feudal, individual liberties and privileges, nor for the free initiative that characterizes a bourgeois society. From this angle, the state of Frederick the Great was something in between feudalism and capitalism, a bridgehead between the old and new eras.

However, it is easy to add a plus sign to the above statement, which in itself does not express any judgement, if we add such categories as "objective necessity," "progress," or "revolution from above." The use of these terms by GDR historians already at the beginning of the seventies permitted them to re-assess the values of the Frederician era. After a period of downright condemnation of Frederick II's politics as the source of Prussian militarism, there now came a time of more careful and at the same time selective assessments. While criticizing some features of the Frederician regime, GDR historiography now began to highlight at the same time the "objectively progressive" nature of the Prussian state. Disregarding the intentions of the historians themselves, this tendency has created a new apologetic stream which has so far been insufficiently examined by Polish historians.

Here we will discuss the question why a negative assessment of Frederick's politics dominates Polish historiography and Polish consciousness, in other words we will answer the question asked by the title of the article -- why Poles do not love Frederick the Great. For the purposes of historical objectivism, it must be said that the destructive effect of Frederick's activity on the [Polish] Republic was not given an immediate proper assessment by the Poles themselves. In the 18th century, the enlightened section of Polish society saw the king through the eyes of the French philosophers, from whom he had succeeded in gaining a positive opinion. The influence of Parisian drawing-rooms on European -- and Polish -- opinion was all-powerful, that is why representatives of the Polish Enlightenment regarded Frederick the Great more a philosopher-king than a ruthless plunderer of the Republic. To this one should add political

naivety, which made the leaders of the Confederation of Bar nurture hopes sown by the Prussian leader whereby he could eliminate Russian influence from Poland -- by removing King Stanislaw August from the throne. A similar mistake, though under circumstances different and considerably more favorable for the Republic, were made by the leaders of the Four-Year Sejm. These firmly believed that Frederick's successor, Friedrich Wilhelm II, would protect Poland against Russian domination. Regardless of the chances of the 1790 Polish-Prussian alliance becoming firmly established, it nevertheless destroyed the accord between the Republic and Russia that had been brought about with such difficulty and thus condemned the Poles to the pleasure and displeasure of the Berlin court.

The first partition of Poland and Prussia's participation in it threw a bucket of cold water over the heads of Prussian sympathizers, but they could not have known that Frederick's diplomacy played a major role during the preparation of the partition agreements on 5 August, 1772. The Polish nobility's anti-Russian attitude was too strong for them to form a more careful assessment of the Prussian monarch's role. Not until the second and third partitions did a change of mind occur and the "dark legend" of Frederick the Great was born, still in force to this day.

Many features of this legend have been deservedly criticized by Polish historians. Today, no-one taking a sober and critical-minded look at the history of Polish-German relations is attempting to relate Frederick's politics to the idea of a German "Drang nach Osten" born during the Romantic era. Frederick's rapacious policy belongs to another era, an era of Enlightenment operating under the cold and rational categories of "balance of forces," "dynastic interests," and so on. But if we find much contempt and even hatred in Frederick's personal attitude toward Poland, then this was a contempt felt not so much by a German than by a cosmopolitan courtier and intellectual; contempt toward a country and people that cherished ideals he felt to be contrary to reason and the values of real culture. Also involved is a dislike felt by an absolute monarch toward the republican and liberal traditions of the Republic, and a lack of understanding for any other values and ideals than his own.

After rejecting the various exaggerations and false assessments of which Polish writing has been so full, the list of Polish accusations against Frederick the Great still remains long. It is too long to permit any sort of revised attitude toward this figure. We will list some of the most important opinions expressed by Polish historiography in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Frederick II pursued a rapacious policy toward Poland from the very first days of his reign, which began in 1740. Even if not all Polish historians agree with the view that Frederick was from his very youth consistently bent on partitioning and eliminating the Polish state, they will at least admit that an intention of applying the illustrious "artichoke method," in other words "devouring the Republic leaf by leaf," was a permanent feature of Frederician politics. The economic war waged against the Republic caused it a

lot of harm long before the first partition. During the Seven Years' War of 1756 - 63, the Prussian forgery of Polish currency and the confiscation of resources and financial contributions imposed on Prussia's neighboring regions permitted Frederick to cover at Poland's expense a considerable part of his war expenditures (about 30 - 35 million thalers). At the end of the war and on the threshold of the reign of Stanislaw August, Frederician politics torpedoed the economic and political reforms that were favorable for the Polish state. A ceaseless inciting of the antiroyal and anti-Russian opposition in Poland was a direct cause of the 1772 partition. Discouraged from continuing her protection over the entire Republic, Catherine II bowed in the end to pressure and blackmail from the Berlin court and agreed to the partition plan put forth by Frederick II, which has gone down in history as "Count Lynar's Plan." Here let us proceed to the second accusation, in other words problem.

Namely, the decisive role played by Frederick's use of secret diplomacy during the first partitioning of the Polish Republic, which set a precedent and example for the partitions under Frederick William II. This is not the place to permit ourselves to succumb to the temptation of describing the entire course of the policy conducted by Frederick that culminated in the conclusion of the agreement between Russia, Prussia, and Austria of 1772. We will limit ourselves to saying that it was a masterpiece from the point of view of the art of diplomacy. The king adroitly exploited the favorable situation for Prussia that had arisen as a result of the outbreak of war between Russian and Turkey in 1768 (the so-called Eastern conflict). He succeeded in blackmailing the Russian empress by threatening to conclude an anti-Russian agreement with Austria and was thus able to compel her to accept the proposals that had been advanced by the Berlin court.

At the time of the Sejm of 1773 - 75, Frederick II displayed unrestrained greed with regard to the amount of territory that he wished to acquire. This rapacity along with the desire to annex Gdansk appeared to clash with Frederick's propagandistic assertions that the provinces acquired from Poland were of no economic value. This point is connected with the next charge that can be leveled against Frederick.

Namely, Frederick was responsible for propagating a false picture in Europe of the annexed territories (and by implication of the entire republic), one that was unfavorable to the Poles and was intended to provide a moral alibi for the perpetrator of this diplomatic scandal. After conducting an inspection in June 1772 of what was by now known as West Prussia, Frederick said that he had seen nothing but "heather, sand, pine trees, and Jews" in his newly acquired territory. In a letter addressed to D'Alembert, he wrote of the inhabitants of Pomerania: "I shall endeavour to acquaint these poor Iroquois with European civilization." Commenting on these views expressed by Frederick, Stanislaw Salmonowicz, the author of a recent biography of the Prussian ruler, wrote: "Seldom were Frederick's opinions so far removed from the truth as when he spoke about Polish lands. Freudians would no doubt detect a guilt complex in

these statements; a guilt complex that led Frederick to manifest intense aggressiveness toward his victim and to look for all the possible and even impossible wrongs that his victim may have committed. Added to this is an element of emphasis that was meant to have two effects. First, these critical observations concerning West Prussia were intended to justify the view that it was necessary for Frederick to undertake a philanthropic, civilizing mission in the Polish territories -- a salute to the philosophers of the salons of Paris -- and second, the gloomy picture that Frederick painted of the lands that he had acquired was to provide a stark contrast to the achievements that the Prussian administration was to accomplish later." ("Frederick II", Vol II, Wroclaw 1985, p 118)

Frederick II was, after all, the co-creator of a model archconservative state, one that was based entirely on the Junker class and the bureaucratic and military apparatus that it directed. This state -- as is the case with every absolute monarchy -- was "a machine that moved across the field of battle" and served the twin objectives of waging war and territorial expansion. But the absolutist system evolved by Frederick outstripped the country's actual potential and thus posed a greater threat to Prussia's neighbors than other forms of absolutism. At the same time, the archaic social relations that obtained in the Kingdom of Prussia -- when compared with the rest of contemporary Europe -- were gradually extended to other new areas of central Europe, hampering the natural development of the societies in these areas, preserving their hierarchical structure, and stifling their creative energy. It was not until Prussia had suffered catastrophic military defeat in its wars with Napoleonic France that Frederick II's heirs felt compelled to undertake fundamental reforms, and in doing so they undid a large part of the work of the Great Hohenzollern.

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# WEEKLY EVALUATES ORWELL'S '1984'

AU191601 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 6 Aug 86 pp 3, 4

[Eugeniusz Guz article: "Should Orwell Be Published?"]

[Excerpts] In his book 1984, which he completed in 1948, Orwell presented a fantastic-satirical vision of life on earth and the future for which, in his view, the world was inevitably heading. The novel about 1984, which was designed as a warning and a satire, was written in a coded language in order to point out whatever endangers the world as a result of the terrorization of thought; spying on others; the totalitarianism of power, red tape, and lying; the manipulation of the truth of history; and the trampling down of human dignity.

Orwell's vision is of man manipulated by the invisible power of the omnipotent dictator -- man who is deprived of independent thought and who is made to believe that he lives in the happiest of worlds. In place of human language, Orwell's figures use "newspeak," meaningless phrases, and slogans full of lies and hypocrisy. In "newspeak" black is white and white is black, and peace means war. Man's "strength" in newspeak is "ignorance" because, in line with Big Brother's philosophy, the less man knows the stronger he is.

Orwell had many precursors, but all of them, except perhaps for Huxley, have been consigned to limbo. Why was it then that his vision has made such a career and his book has been published in millions and millions of copies throughout the world?

It seems that the cold war and the budding confrontation between the Eastern and Western systems were responsible for Orwell's work to suit current propaganda needs. Orwell's vision of the future was also preferred because, of all his precursors and contemporaries, he supplied the most reasons for assuming that in painting his visions he could have had the Stalinist era in mind. However, the cold war propagandists changed the "could have had" to "had," thus showing that they were good students of Orwell's "newspeak." Although 1984 hints at the Hitlerite regime, the Western propagandists passed over in silence all such associations because the cold war required an anti-Soviet motive and not honesty of interpretation.

When 1984 was published, the reaction to it was most varied. Some people regarded the book as a showdown with English [angielski] socialism, some as an anticommunist pamphlet, and some others as an attack against all forms of totalitarianism.

The present specialists in interpreting 1984 as an anticommunist pamphlet are also wont to forget that Orwell's creative work was decidedly anti-imperialist and was primarily directed against British imperialism, which Orwell knew inside out because of his service with the colonial police. It is a tall order to make an anticommunist of him if we consider that he was much too much involved in the revolutionary workers movement, that he published much too much in the leftist British press, that his first wife held leftist convictions, and that he fought for the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. However, during the cold war, attempts were made to present him as an anticommunist.

Although at the end of his life Orwell was not free from anticommunist obsession, there is no reason to assume that in his book he pointed his finger at the East. The answers to the question as to whom Orwell had in mind 1984 can be most varied. After all, today when the cold war has become just a memory, the old instinctive forwardness in interpreting Orwell's book as a novel with a clearcut message has given way to doubts on the part of many Western researchers. In any case, today Orwell's vision is no longer being automatically associated with the reality in the socialist world. We should realize this whenever we hear the slogan entitled "Orwell."

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY editorial note: A climate of whispered rumors has been created around Orwell by the fact that a foreign firm has published in Polish Orwell's tale about animals, in which a division in the animal hierarchy takes place in the stables, cow barns, and pigsties on the animal farm. That is why we now say that "all animals are equal, but some of them are more equal than others." But perhaps we should put an end to these whisperings. Perhaps a publishing house -- Czytelnik? Wydawnictwo Literackie? -- would risk publishing 1984. Not so long ago Professor Artur Sandauer put forward such a suggestion. We think that this proposal is worth considering.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PESSIMISM OF YOUNG WRITERS DEFENDED

AU281406 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 16 Aug 86 p 7

[Ogdan Klukowski article: "On Kozniewski"]

[Excerpts] In his article about Polish writers, which was published in Issue 25 of POLITYKA, Kazimierz Kozniewski invited writers, especially young and not so young writers, to participate in a dispute about the state of contemporary Polish literature. I do not like disputes in public life, and that is why I will make just a few observations.

Kozniewski, who is a typical representative and creator of the epoch of mass culture, believes that creative work "must be read widely" in order to gain recognition, but as if contradicting himself he adds that creative people have the right to experiment. However, everyone knows that experiments always take place in laboratories and therefore have a very limited appeal. It is obvious that there is no direct connection between the public popularity and the artistic value of a literary work. [Passage omitted]

Kozniewski asserts that an entire generation of "middle-aged and ever younger writers have given up all attempts to win the interest of a wider orbit of readers and have dedicated themselves exclusively to linguistic, stylistic, and compositional experiments, "shunning like the plague subjects that are most important for readers -- "the basic moral, social, ideological, and political issues. Instead they continue to fathom the psychology of the people on the fringe of society and to analyze the frustration of individuals."

Kozniewski is right to some extent, but he should not lump together the advocates and creators of permanent artistic revolution and writers who are reliable and honest to themselves and readers. [Passage omitted]

Changes in the traditional hierarchy of the values seen in the world by creative people have been obvious since the last war. These changes and the departure from descriptions and portrayals are also continuing at the present time, when we still live in a state of worldwide threats, aware of the avalanche-like armaments and of the negligible results of the efforts of people of good will. Not being politicians, creative people are aware of this more intensely and want to save mankind from annihilation through their activities.

I do not want to assert that the weakness of a book written by an author can be traced back to his permanent awareness of the fact that mankind is facing total threats, but we must concede that living on a volcano is bound to have some say in the choice of the means used in artistic and literary creation. Artistic people search for new means of expression, and this searching is not only a matter of avantgarde trends. It is also a matter of abandoning court art, lacquered portraits, sculptured heroes, and one-dimension figures in movies, plays, and belles letters. [Passage omitted]

At times it is even being said that since the war creative works have continued to be produced amidst the awareness of the continuous crisis and the periodical bouts of the fin-de-siecle moods. These are only a few of the reasons that may justify what we can see in all fields of creative work: decomposition and efforts to search for means of artistic expression that are able to illustrate the phobias and anxieties of our contemporaries. The impossibility of understanding the world surrounding us and a sense of being lost are not the fate only of the group of Polish writers at whom Kozniewski "lashes out."

A withdrawal into oneself and an attempt to create a world of individuals because one can still feel somewhat secure in such a world are the trend of a certain segment of contemporary literature. This trend is certainly obvious in Polish literature and should be written about in order to discourage aspiring young authors from indulging in self-centered aspirations. However, this trend is not all-pervading, but this is how Kozniewski presented it. [Passage omitted]

Let us not create the myth that writers write only about their frustrations. After all, they do not hold secret meetings in order to decide what they should write about. "Correct subjects" are not always capable of "correct" treatment. Besides, the practice of prescribing what literature should be was dropped rather long ago. Let us give our writers a measure of time and freedom and let us calmly wait for brilliant works to be produced. The reasons for writers' frustration and anxieties lie outside the area of creativeness. That is why we should let writers write in their own way about whatever bothers them.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

CANADIAN ENVOY ENDS MISSION--Warsaw, 27 Aug--Ambassador of Canada Alan Pittman McLaine ended his diplomatic mission to Poland and left Warsaw today. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1913 GMT 27 Aug 86 LD] /9274

DANISH AMBASSADOR ENDS MISSION--Warsaw, 29 Aug--Ambassador of the Kingdom of Denmark Jorgen Korsgaard-Pedersen ended his diplomatic mission in Poland and left Warsaw today. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2003 GMT 29 Aug 86 LD] /9274

MESSNER, AMBASSADOR TO ITALY MEETING--Warsaw, 29 Aug--Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner received here today Poland's Ambassador to Italy Jozef Wielejacz. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 29 Aug 86 LD] /9274

CGS DEPARTS FOR FINLAND--Warsaw, 1 Sep--Chief of General Staff of the Polish Army, National Defence Vice Minister Gen Jozef Uzycki accompanied by a group of officers left today for an official visit to Finland at the invitation from Commander-in-Chief of Finland's Armed Forces Gen Jaako Valtanen. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 1 Sep 86 LD] /9274

PZPR DECLARATION ON EUROPEAN SECURITY--Warsaw, 25 Jul--The Declaration on Security and Cooperation in Europe, adopted by the 10th PUWP Congress on 3 July, has been published and circulated at the UN Headquarters in New York as an official document of this year's 41st Session of the UN General Assembly. The document was placed on the session's agenda as an item dealing with the implementation of the UN Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 25 Jul 86 LD] /9274

IRAQI MINISTER POSTPONES VISIT--Warsaw, 27 Jul--Iraqi Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz will come to Poland later than previously planned. The postponement was motioned [as received] by the Iraqi side. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1602 GMT 27 Jul 86 LD] /9274

ORZECZOWSKI MEETS DEPARTING SFRY ENVOY--Warsaw, Sept [dateline as received]--Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski received here today Ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Poland Milivoje Maksic, who paid a farewell visit in connection with the termination of his diplomatic mission in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2205 GMT 3 Sep 86 LD] /9274

**DELEGATION TO FINNISH FUNERAL--**Warsaw, 7 Sep--A Polish delegation to the funeral ceremonies of Finland's former president Urho Kekkonen left Warsaw for Helsinki today. The delegation is composed of Vice President of the Council of State Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, Foreign Affairs Minister Marian Orzechowski and Poland's Ambassador to Finland Henryk Burczyk. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1322 GMT 7 Sep 86 LD] /9274

**SOVIET CONSUL ATTENDS CELEBRATION--**The last Sunday in August is the Day of the Soviet Miner. On this occasion a festive soiree was held in the Halemba mine assembly hall in Ruda Slaska today. Zygmunt Muranski, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and pit deputy at the Redultowy mine, and Jerzy Nawrocki, Council of State member, took part in the soiree. Representatives of the Katowice Voivodship party and administration authorities, Ministry of Mining and Power Industry, the Higher Mines Office, mining industry associations, and individual mines were present. Georgiy Rudov, minister plenipotentiary and consul general of the Soviet Union in Krakow, and Boris Pashchenko, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society Central Board, were guests of the miners. During the ceremony, Kazimierz Szymanski, a face worker in the Halemba mine and a delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress, read a letter to miners of the Soviet Oblast of Donetsk, in which cordial bonds of friendship and cooperation between Polish and Soviet miners were emphasized. It is worth recalling that the first mechanized casings supplied to Polish mines came from the Soviet Union. Today, Polish-made machines and equipment are working in 24 mines of the Karaganda and Kuznetsk coal basins. During the soiree several dozen Polish-Soviet Friendship Society activists from the Halemba miner were awarded Polish-Soviet Friendship Society golden badges. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 86 LD] /12624

**BEJGER RECEIVES CSSR DELEGATION--**Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship party committee, has received a delegation of the Czechoslovak defense organization [Union for Cooperation with the Army] Central Committee with its deputy chairman, Major general Miroslav Vrba, on a visit to the Gdansk coast. During the meeting the guests were acquainted with the current sociopolitical situation in Gdansk Voivodship, and the economic ties linking the two friendly countries were stressed. [Excerpt] [Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 28 Aug 86 LD] /12624

**JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS VISIT MESSNER, ORZECOWSKI--**The important role of parliamentary contacts between Poland and Japan was stressed by the Sejm Speaker, Roman Malinowski, who was visited today by the chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party Faction, Yushio Sakurauchi, and the chairman of the parliamentary club of this party in the house of Councillors of the Japanese diet, Yushikiko Dushia. Talks with the Japanese parliamentarians were held by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Jozef Czyrek,

informing them about the progress of the process of normalization and stabilization in Poland and also the tasks drawn by the 10th PZPR Congress. In talks relating to bilateral relations, it was confirmed that all the circumstances exist for a fruitful development of cooperation. The significance which the Japanese side attaches to bilateral economic relations was stressed. The same day, the chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party Faction of Japan was received by Premier Zbigniew Messner, and by Foreign Affairs Minister Marian Orzechowski, who familiarized the guest with the assumptions of Polish foreign policy with reference to the Asiatic states. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 1 Sep 86 LD] /12624

SEJM-TRADE UNION COOPERATION DISCUSSED--PAP--The Marshall of the Sejm, Roman Malinowski, has met with the chairman of the All-Polish Trade Union Accord [POZZ], Alfred Miodowicz. Alfred Miodowicz was accompanied by members of the OPZZ leadership. Many important issues were discussed at the meeting. In the opinion of the trade union movement, the Sejm and its commissions could produce legislative solutions to the issues that were raised. Legislation would create a legal basis for dealing with the vital interests of working people. Topics discussed at the meeting included problems connected with Sejm work on a draft law covering factory social and housing funds and a draft law on collective labor agreements. Other matters that need to be regulated by law were also examined. These included the organization and funding of social insurance schemes and employee vacation funds. The representatives of the trade union movement conveyed the concern expressed by working people about the proposed National Socioeconomic Plan for the period up to the year 1990 and the provisions of the Central Annual Plan for 1987. Both sides emphasized the fruitful character of contacts between the Sejm and the OPZZ to date, and expressed their desire to continue and expand such contacts. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /12624

ILLEGAL PUBLICATIONS IN GORZOW--The security services in Gorzow Wielkopolski have detained a group of people who were printing and distributing illegal publications. The printing shop was in a villa belonging to Romuald Osipowicz, the owner of crafts workshop. During the search 270 printing stencils, 57 kg of paint and more than 100 reams of paper were found. Among other things illegal publications and leaflets inciting social unrest were being printed. Zbigniew Derewienko, who until recently was a student of the Higher Theological Seminary, and Stanislaw Zwicik, a lay teacher of religion in St Maksymilian Kolbe Diocese in Gorzow, collaborated with Romuald Osipowicz. As was established by the security services, the printing equipment came from France, Switzerland and the Netherlands. An investigation into this case is being carried out by the Gorzow Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs. The Gorzow Voivodship prosecutor has given permission for the suspects' names to be made public. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Sep 86 LD] /12624

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